Terena
Mbaya SK11

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

G 175 101 [131]
G 175 161
M 131
M 161
M 101
M
G 105 114 566
G
M 105 621 648 63
G
M 648 105
G [562] [622]

[P. 2-A]

After resting, the men saunter around the village visiting their relatives and friends and discussing their crops and activities of the day. The women remain at home but men gather in small groups in front of the houses and are served maté by the women. Conversation goes on for some time after darkness falls. By 9 o'clock the visitors return to their respective houses and retire for the night. In hot weather people sleep naked, covered only by a thin cotton cover. In cold weather the men sleep in their shorts. If the mosquitoes are bad, thin cotton cloth serves as a makeshift mosquito net. No proper mosquito nets are used by the Terena.

During the rainy season when the crops are growing the men often remain at home repairing their houses or assisting one another in building new ones, repairing saddles, making handles for axes and hoes, and weaving fans, baskets, and mats. During this period the women spin cotton yarn, weave hammocks, make pottery, and sew clothes for themselves and their families. As everywhere in the world, the women have such constant duties as cleaning the house, cooking, washing, and taking care of the children. The older children, when not at school, are with their parents assisting them in everyday activities, little by little learning the common duties and techniques of adult life.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

MOIETIES

Terena informants relate that when they were in the Chaco they lived in villages and were divided into endogamous moieties. One moiety was called the *sukirikionó* or gentle people ("mansa" in Portuguese), and the other the *shumonó* or wild people ("brava" in Portuguese). Although these moieties were primarily ceremonial units, they exercised some social control over their members by regulating marriage and acting in council to settle matters concerning group decisions.

Each moiety had a chief (*unati ashé*). Any village of any size, therefore, had two moiety chiefs. The symbols of moiety chieftainship consisted of a small calabash (*kali ita'aka*), a trumpet made from a cow's horn, and a loincloth somewhat shorter than that worn by nonchiefs. There was no head chief for either moiety nor for the Terena people as a whole. Each chief was the ceremonial

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itishovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 831 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

616
the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies 796
white and the other half black. 302

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena 565
were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs
(*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) com-
moners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*).
The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and
their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class [582]
in rank and were supposed to marry within their
own group. As one could marry only within his
own moiety this often meant village exogamy to
members of this class. On coming of age the sons 281
of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty 565
ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation 622
into the chiefly class. In historic times the prin-
cipal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy ap-
proaching his father dressed in a light-red blan- [292]
ket which he would take off and substitute for the
dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the
sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. [567]
The daughters of the chiefs also went through a [554]
puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate
than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of
common people.

All the living war chiefs and their children and 565
relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again,
marriage within the group was demanded. Com- [641]
moners were free tribesmen who had not acquired
status through war or marriage into the two upper
classes. Slaves were young women and children 567
captured in raids, or the children of war captives. 565
Slaves performed services for their masters, fol-
lowed them in war and danced with them during
ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in
war by killing an enemy he could become a free
man. It is said that a slave could even become
a war chief if he were particularly successful in
war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or
killed by his master.

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and 616
the village acted as a unit. Every large village 701
had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both 726
in war and peace and was the head of the war-
rior class. As an individual he had the highest 554
rank in the village and drank first at all cere- [534]
monies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet
as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a [292]
jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot [237]
feathers.

[p. 28-B]

feathers. The war chief had considerable authority over warriors both on war parties and during periods of training. The position of the war chief was not a hereditary one although his son could succeed him. A new chief was always selected from among outstanding warriors on the basis of merit—he had to have killed at least one enemy and to have otherwise distinguished himself as a leader and a man of courage. 616 701 726 554

The ceremony during which a new war chief was chosen was a serious and solemn occasion. The moiety chiefs called all the men of the village together and extolled the merits of the candidate for war chieftainship. The men-in-council would then signify their assent. After the selection was made, a slave would fill and light a clay pipe and offer it to the old war chief, who, owing to age, illness, or wounds, no longer wished to go to war. After taking a few puffs the old war chief would kneel on one knee before the candidate and offer him the pipe saying, "I am now being relieved of the responsibilities of leadership and hope that you will carry on my task with success." He would then rise, take off his jaguar skin shirt and offer it to the new chief as a symbol of his new status. The new war chief would accept it often with tears in his eyes, as he knew that he must now be in the forefront of all battles and that his life was in great danger. 616 701 [554]

While in the Chaco the Terena carried on warfare for captives, horses, cattle, sheep, and other loot. During large raids many villages combined, the ablest war chief being selected to lead the war party. The moiety chiefs fought with the tribesmen but not in the front rank; this position was reserved for men who had committed some criminal act, and if they succeeded in killing an enemy they were considered free men. Fighting was carried on with a bow and arrows pointed with deer antler, often poisoned and feathered with vulture feathers; the javelin which in historic times had an iron head; and a heavy wooden sword. 726 [721] [628] [616] [622] [411]

From what has been said we get a general picture of Terena social organization during the time the Terena were living in the Chaco. That they were village-dwelling agriculturists appears to be corroborated by the accounts of Sánchez Labrador. How much this village life was modified by the introduction of the horse is not quite so clear. From statements made by the Terena it seems 105 [177] [231]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian territory their social organization began to change. The political organization was the first to feel the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*.

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or chief to represent each Terena settlement was also instrumental in breaking down the dual organization. The Terena claim that the man chosen was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief had much greater powers than the old moiety chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement.

It might be argued that in spite of the new political orientation, the moieties could still have retained their function in regulating marriage and in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties

to the child, the name usually being that of a relative long dead. A mother suckled a child until a new baby was born or until the child was able to eat solid food. A child was carried strapped on the mother's back by a belt called *apóone* or held by the same strap in front while suckling. For short distances small children were carried straddling the hip of the bearer. Childbirth appears to have been treated purely as a secular event, for the Terena remember no special ceremonies or rites connected with it.

Today, childbirth is treated in the Brazilian fashion. In cases of difficult birth the missionaries are present to give medical help. They also give advice in the care of children. The infant is baptized into either the Catholic or Protestant faith. In addition to receiving a Brazilian name, the child also receives a Terena name. It is whispered that abortion and even infanticide are still occasionally practiced.

PUBERTY

Although the puberty ceremony for boys and girls is no longer practiced, the Terena say that in the past each family celebrated the coming of age of its children, only the chiefly class giving a public ceremony. When a chief's daughter reached the age of puberty, *iyoti*, her kinswomen fastened a small bell, *tohí*, over the doorway of her house, which was periodically struck by one of the women. The girl painted her body black with "genipapo" or red with "urucú" and sat cross-legged on a reed mat in the center of the house. The women of the village then brought cotton and beans which they threw over the head of the girl. The kinswomen of the girl gave the visitors food and drink. There was no long period of seclusion, as this ceremony lasted for 1 day only.

Even today, menstruating women paint themselves black and abstain from washing as in the past. Contact with water is believed to cause the enmity of a certain water witch that lives in a lake or river and controls the supply of fish.

In the past, the sons of the chiefs went through a public ceremony at puberty called *tima*. The principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he took off, then donning a dark-red blanket handed him by his father. The dark-red blanket was a symbol not only of adulthood but

881
also of membership in the *unati*, or chiefly class. 622
This ceremony took place in the house of the boy's 565
father and in the presence of all the members of [292]
the village. Feasting and dancing accompanied the ceremony. As in the case of girls, seclusion did not form a part of the puberty ceremony.

MARRIAGE (KOYENÓTI)

In the old days parents arranged marriages be- 584
tween their children while the children were still young. The parents of the boy would take presents to the parents of the girl. If the girl's parents accepted, they would take their girl to the house of the boy's parents and leave her there for a day or two. When the girl returned she was considered betrothed to the boy, the actual marriage taking place when the girl had reached puberty.

The betrothal ceremony, known as *kayenóne*, [567]
was rather an elaborate performance. On going to visit the girl's parents the boy's father and mother were preceded by a slave, *káuti*, who led a cow or carried a calf on his back. The slave was a messenger and was known as the *yuhokóti*. Upon arriving at the girl's house the boy's parents were greeted and asked to enter and sit down. The *yuhokóti* remained standing until he made his speech. He addressed the girl's parents saying, "*Háranziminó viarunoechá*" (I have come to arrange about your girl). The girl's father, if he agreed, then replied, "*Unati enomivé kopó*" (All right, I shall receive you). The messenger then sat down and the parents discussed the marriage of their children. When arrangements had been completed the boy's parents left their gifts and departed.

When the girl reached puberty the wedding 585
ceremony, *koyenóti*, took place. The bride's par- 574
ents invited relatives and friends and built a special shed from "acuri" palm fronds under which the dances were performed. Much food and drink were prepared for the guests. When the guests had arrived, the bride's parents fetched the groom and his parents. When the groom arrived he said, "*Ziminóti oveá neyé*" (I have come to stay). To this the bride's father answered, "*Unati, kóye eshági shopiné*" (Thank you, you are now my son).

The bride's father then led the groom to a ham- 585
mock on which the bride was already seated. The groom sat down beside her, their feet resting on

G /30 cont./
175
648
[114]

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

G
M
175
648
M
[651]

Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some

G
[582]
[562]
[622]

31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or captains married according to their fashion Guaná women caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

G
[566]

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

G M 175 648 [557] [622] [582]

/35 cont./ Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87; cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311. In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

G M [101]

G [191]

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus, not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
616 [173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikinâu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[173] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology.... Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
● [622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[796] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú. . . ." (72)

72. 1928:109.

/63 cont./
175
152
[297] neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the caciques in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

[622]
[184]
[178]

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

[297]

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

[Cachoeirinha]

/74 cont./ And if we compare the successive
censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed.... Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea, taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the community. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./ being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

This road connects Passarinho with Moreira, the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to

143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the principal leader, Patrício Lili or Wollily, -the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União." In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very important to an understanding of those migration movements we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident. After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal, we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea, on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I. A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/86 cont./
Limão Verde and Aldeinha

Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas: Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small concentration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
197 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

178 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[795] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 297 295 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is Kinikináu (one not being included). It should be explained 101 829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 [247] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small [462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
361
[166]
[114]

152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
175 cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
621 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
[162] do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[233] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
[423] 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/94 cont./

16 621 which shows that a much larger number of individuals would have been needed to occupy such a large number of dwellings, and that in 1937 many of those huts must have been unoccupied.

16 621 as can be seen from the 1946 census, according to which there were in Buriti 476 individuals, whereas in 1954 another census listed 483 inhabitants in the aldea.

361 621 [368] The aldea of Buriti is made up of three population nuclei which appear as three distinct neighborhood units: a) Buriti proper, where the native post, the captain's house, the post school, and the Catholic church are found, along with half a score of ranchos; b) Córrego do Meio, southeast of the central nucleus, with a population distributed in ranchos situated in an area of farm plots and winter pastures for cattle; c) Água Azul, a newer nucleus, whose members are mostly "Believers" and are situated well to the south of the Buriti nucleus, next to the boundary of the reservation (the fazendeiro next to the aldea donated to a Protestant mission a plot of land right on the boundary with Água Azul, where the missionaries built a church and a school specially for the Indians of the reservation). The result of this was the repetition in Buriti of the same processes of division of the native community that took place in Bananal, Passarinho-Moreira, Limão Verde, and, as we shall see below, Francisco Horta.

[795] [797]

[184]

872 /95/ Thus, there are two schools in the community: one operated by the post, secular, although regarded by the Indians as of Catholic orientation; another, operated by the Evangelical mission, next to Água Azul. There was a time when, owing to the lack of a teacher in the official school, the captain of Água Azul, the Protestant leader, Benedito Reginaldo, was

[875] [622]

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
666 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terena to the city, where
648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/ and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation, which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
●[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Pururuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
666 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
369 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master, the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/38/

121 Not much has been known up to now about the social position
171 of the South American chief and its effect on marriage and succession. Most observers of the hunters and gatherers and the "lower" agriculturalists are content to describe him as primus inter pares whose authority could grow to decisive importance only in war and extraordinary situations. But in the case of some Indians, for instance, the nomadic gathering and hunting people of the Tschamakoko /Chamacoco/ and the sedentary agricultural tribe of the Kaskihá (1), we are familiar with the basic

[113]

1. Cf. H. Baldus, Indianerstudien im nordöstlichen Chaco /Indian Studies in the Northeast Chaco/, Leipzig, 1931 (Publ. C. L. Hirschfeld), pp. 69f., 73.

difference that among them the common man practices following the wife /Gattinnenfolge/, whereas the wife of a chief or his eldest son moves to the place of her father-in-law or husband upon marrying. Furthermore, I was able to observe among the hunting peoples of the Tschamakoko and Bororo that they, as we also know, for example, for the Guaykurú, seem to believe in a "nobler blood" of the chiefs and because of this in their right to a preferential position.

•622 I did not have an opportunity for a more thorough study of the
121 marriage and succession of the chiefs until February, 1934,
101 among the Tereno /Terena/ living not far from Miranda in the
177 southern part of the Brazilian state of Mato Grosso. Although
178 this Arawak tribe probably has had peaceful contacts with whites since the middle of the seventeenth century, contacts which without doubt have become increasingly close, since the middle of the previous century, /39/ it has nevertheless preserved, besides its language, certain arrangements of its social organization.

161 The Tereno, whose number according to various reports has
241 varied between two thousand to four thousand individuals for
361 more than a hundred years, have carried on agriculture from

161 /39 cont./
241 time immemorial and are concentrated in village communities,
361 of which there are eleven at present. I have the chief of the
115 village of Mureira, whom the Brazilians call José Correia, to
[622] thank for the following information. His Tereno name was at
[551] first Kalpetí, which means "left-hander," but it has only the
significance of a name, so it was a coincidence when José
553 actually became a left-hander later. An old man who is a close
602 relative of the mother or the father gives the name immediately
after the birth. When José's mother died, an old relative of his
[768] father gave him a new name: Nakilí. That is, if one of the
parents dies, all the children of the family receive different
names so that the surviving parent will not be reminded of the past
by their previous names and become sad. If the surviving parent
dies, the names of his children are not changed again. The
names of other persons, for example, of the widower or widow,
remain unchanged after a death.

775 The spouses find each other again after death and then re-
829 main together. My informant, who is a widower, says:
I still have the hope of meeting my wife in the next world. -- I
ask how the next world looks. -- He says: The next world is
764 like here. Formerly the deceased was thrown into the water or,
775 when that was not possible, burned. When one was dead, noth-
ing came out of him; only the intestinal worm came out, if it
had been the sickness. In the water the deceased again becomes
an animal. He was an animal before he was a Tereno. The
burned one also becomes an animal, When the animal dies, it
goes on living in the next world. The next world is under the
earth. My life never stops completely.

843 Long before the birth the father and mother do not eat the
armadillo, the small ant bear, or the fruit of the araxikŭ, be-
cause otherwise the child would die in the mother's body and not
846 come out. They practice the same avoidances after birth, too,
and lie down in connection with it. The mother lies down for a
long time; the father, however, now lies down for only two or
three days; formerly it was five days.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 361 643 178 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 611 602 604 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the

[601] 1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootú; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulú; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," õngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

/40 cont./

602 1. (cont.)
601 mother's brother's son," and "my mother's
brother's daughter," nevoangé. -- In my
[114] work Tereno-Texte /Tereno Texts/ I shall
publish all the kinship terms of the Tereno.

602 father's father of the children tells their mother's brother that
604 he should /41/ bring back from hunting something for them that
[178] they especially desire. It was like that formerly and it is often
[593] that way still today. The father only provides the ordinary foods
for his children, but not particularly desired delicacies.
582 While the people always marry within the village and the
621 husband builds the house for his wife and she becomes the mistress
622 of the house, chief's children only marry among themselves or,
591 when that is impossible, at least distant relatives of chiefs (1), and

[602] 1. Kinship extends to the grandchildren of the
[601] male and female cousins, whom one also calls
amorí, "my grandchild."

thus they marry outside the village and it is not infrequent that
622 the husband moves to his father-in-law's place. Nalikí's mother s
602 father was chief of the village of Mureira even before the Paraguay
War. He was called Himuná. His successor was Nalikí's father,
who was called Ečviagatí. He was the oldest son of the chief of
Abacaxí. Usually the eldest son of the chief becomes his father's
successor, if he does not have father's brother's sons who are older
[591] (see below). Since however, all of Himuna's sons had died and
left no male descendants, since Himuná also had no brother's
sons or sister's sons, and since Ečviagatí's father was still very
vigorous, Ečviagatí, as husband of Himuná's oldest daughter,
moved to his father-in-law's and later became chief of Mureira
as his successor; he handed over the rule of Abacaxí to his
younger brother after his father's death.

602/41 cont./
622 When Ečiviagatí died about 1925, Nalikí, as his eldest son and the oldest of his brother's sons, became chief of Mureira. Nalikí was therefore already 80 years old then. He had two sons
122 and two daughters. The eldest son is married to a daughter of
59/ the chief of Passarinho and lives with his father in Mureira (but
602 in his own hut). The second son is married to a daughter of the chief of Cachoeirinha and also lives with his father in Mureira. The oldest daughter was married to the eldest son of the chief of Lalima and died in childbirth. The second daughter also lives in Lalima; she is married to the second son of the chief there.

622 The order of succession of the Tereno chiefs is the following:
602 1. The oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
2. The oldest among the sons and brother's sons of No. 1 (that is, either the oldest among the chief's son's sons or the son's sons of one of his brothers).
3. The oldest among the chief s sister's sons.
4. The husband of the oldest daughter of the chief.
5. The oldest among the sons of the oldest daughter of the chief.
6. The husband of the oldest daughter of No. 1, that is, of the oldest among the chief's sons and his brother's sons.
7. The next oldest brother of the chief.
8. The husband of the oldest among the chief's brother's daughters.
9. The husband of the oldest sister of the chief.
10. The husband of the oldest among the chief's sister s daughters.

/42/ According to what has been said, it seems that one may assume that if the chief has no descendants and siblings, the succession does not fall to the relatives of his wife, but to the oldest brother of his father and his descendants or, if such a one does not exist, to the husband of the oldest sister of his father and his descendants. I could not find out anything about this, however.

The following presentation, in which in any given case the oldest, and thus the legitimate individual to succeed, is always indicated, may serve as an example to clarify the order of succession:

122
602

Terena

/42 cont./

622 Thus the oldest among the sons and brother's sons usually
602 takes over the succession. If, as in the case of Ečiviagatí, he gives up this succession during the chief's lifetime in order to become the successor of his father-in-law who has been left without male heirs, the next oldest brother or brother's son inherits the rule. It has also occurred that the father-in-law had no male heirs and the father just one. Then the latter, after the death of the two, took over the rule of both villages until his oldest son married and then became chief of one of the two villages, usually the village of his mother's father.

622 The other sons are usually free after their marriage to live in
579 the village of the father or of the father-in-law. It is only
602 necessary or desirable that they move to the place of the father-in-law if the latter is without male heirs and they have married his oldest daughter.

622 If a chief, at his death, leaves only minor sons, brother's sons,
429 son's sons, brother's son's sons, and sister's sons, the husband of
602 his oldest daughter or granddaughter, or, when no married daughters or granddaughters are present, the husband of his oldest sister takes over the succession until the marriage of the heir of the deceased chief. Only when no daughter, granddaughter, or sister is married can the next oldest brother rule until the marriage of the heir.

622 The characteristic thing about the order of succession of the
605 Tereno chiefs is in any case the equal position of the chief's sons
602 and his brother's sons as far as the right of the oldest among them to the succession.

/405 cont./

592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a yntocoqui. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

● 622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as capitão
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his amigo. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of caña /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

in the structure that prevented a Kauti/Xuna-Xati from marrying a Naati-Seenó, this apparently was made difficult by the greater resistance of the Naati, as the in-group, to stratum exogamy. The very same mechanisms which made difficult—or for practical purposes prevented—the promotion of a Kauti/Xuna-Xati to the post of "War Chief", function here as well in maintaining the endogamy of the group. Terena society on the whole regarded as a sufficient concession the admission of the Kauti/Xuna-Xati and their sons as members of the tribe. They had thus formally broken the ethnic line which separated them. But even thus the noble families, the "Chiefs of the People", i. e., the Naati, were very reluctant to admit them as members of the in-group. This is attested to by the differential status accorded the "War Chiefs" and the "Chiefs of the People". The prestige of the latter was much greater than that of the former (Altenfelder Silva, 1949 : 319-320). The Naati normally accepted the Waheré/Xuna-Xati, however, as mates of their women.[11] The advantage for a Naati in becoming also a Xuna-Xati was that it made him eligible for possible selection as a "War Chief". He already possessed the indispensable prerequisite of bitrh for being selected "Chief of the People". We should note here that in each local Terena group there was a single "Chief of the People" and a single "War Chief".

With the dynamic which this vertical mobility gave to the threefold assymetrical structure, Terena society had to find a way of accommodating the children of the Xuna-Xati (whether they were Kauti or Waheré) in the total social structure, i. e., not just in the threefold structure, but also in the twofold symmetrical structure. Thus the marriage a Kauti/Xuna-Xati man with a Waheré Xumonó woman for example, resulted in sons that were Xuna-Xati/Xumonó and in daughters that were Waheré-Seenó/Xumonó. The sons followed the paternal line as far as the title of *killer* (or warrior) was concerned, and the maternal line in moiety membership; the daughters followed the maternal line in both stratum and moiety membership (cf. Figure IV, a). If we were to examine the position of descendants of the union of a Waheré/Xuna-Xati/Suririkionó man, for example, with a Naati-Seenó/Suririkionó woman, the sons would have the same social position as the father, and the daughters the same as the mother (cf. Figure IV, b). In the first case the relationship seems to be regulated by a principle of double descent; while in the second by bilinearity.

Terena kinship relations, with the exception of the Xuna-Xati, had

[11] If we admit the thesis of Levi-Strauss, by which marriage is an interchange of women (1949), then the Naati would be at a distinct disadvantage, since they gave women to the Waheré/Xuna-Xati and received none in return, having to find their wives in other local groups, as we will show below.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.

/89 cont./

582 Marriage. They do not marry relatives, respecting blood. They customarily marry very young, at whatever age, not 881 considering physical development. At the appearance of menstruation, they hold great fiestas, accompanied by drunken- [35] ness. They seat the young Indian girl in a highly adorned [30] hammock, almost totally naked; they cover the young girl only with a tanga or julata, painting her body with several [534] colors. Above her head they hang a bell, which is rung every [402] minute or so by an elderly female relative; to the right and [285] left of the girl sit her parents; the other relatives dance and 585 sing around the girl, who fasts the entire day. Polygamy is permitted among these Indians, there being some who have five, eight, and even more wives, and this depends on the [501] number of sisters that the first wife has. They get married with considerable facility, breaking it off in the same way 595 and then marrying other women. They only have a fiesta at 527 the first marriage; for this the couple gather together the relatives of both contracting parties, inviting them all to a feast and drinks, a fiesta which ends with songs and dances, and lasts two or three days.

764 Death. When an Indian dies all weep, without any dis- 768 tinction of blood relationship. They customarily bury the dead man with everything that he owned in life, and what they cannot bury they divide among themselves; the animals that were owned by the deceased are exchanged for drinks; at the end they set fire to the house where he lived, and their weeping ends only after the complete disappearance of the goods left by the deceased.

765 The relatives observe mourning in the following way: they [304] cut off their hair, some pluck out their eyelashes and scratch their faces, with the result that they disfigure themselves completely; this mourning is kept up from five to seven moons. 766 When a cacique dies they also bury him with everything he 622 428

/89 cont./

766 [622] [428] owned, with the exception of his vesture, which is inherited by his son, who carries on in power. /90/

Over the cacique's grave they build a small rancho of palm leaves, as a mark of distinction.

622 [852] Cóchómonety or Cacique. The power of the cacique falls from fathers to sons. When the first son or daughter of the cacique is born, the latter, a few moments later, breathes into the mouth of the newborn, which signifies that at the age of 15, approximately, he will receive power and will be ordained to caciqueship, following his father in power as soon as the 622 latter dies. When the heirs reach the age of 15, the cacique 527 holds a big fiesta, for this calling together all the caciques [628] of the other aldeas. Dressed in a simple julata and with his [302] entire body painted in divers colors, the boy being honored is surrounded by all the invited caciques, who form a closed circle and go around and around the young man, singing for a period of two to three hours.

When this ceremony has ended they go on to eat and drink and the fiesta lasts from two to four days, that is, until the food and drinks are exhausted.

821 [405] Astronomy. Each new moon is a month and 14 moons are a year. The sun is called paphúyty; the moon calipahú-quethy; the month paphuyty; the stars perphaty; the sky piphâyty; the earth piphéytó.

361 [162] [114] [103] [342] Aldeas. In the municipio of Miranda there exist approximately from 12,000 to 14,000 Terena Indians and a large number of aldeas, among which I cite only those that I visited, the main ones being those called: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipeque, Santa Ana, and Caytapé. All the aldeas show the same type of construction, which is rustic, the houses or ranchos consisting of thin walls of bamboo with a roof of straw or palm leaves. One aldea differs from another only in the greater or lesser number of ranchos.

[342] [162] [621] Agachy Aldea. This aldea has 26 ranchos, the largest being from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide; it is inhabited by 367 Indians.

/92 cont./

535 orchestra of drums and flutes. In front of the dancers are lo-
[622] cated two pairs of caciques, who witness the dance. They are accustomed to take part in the dance from the smallest Indian to the oldest; couples join up man with man and woman with woman, the men to the right and the women to the left of the music; when they arrive in front of the caciques, each pair is obliged to salute; the dance goes on in this way for three-
[114] quarters of an hour. I witnessed this dance in Agachy, when 48 couples took part, all of whom danced keeping time well with the music.

In the second dance the pairs of men form an arc in front of the music, but with their backs to it. The couples of women pass through the middle of the arc, and when they come out of it they split up, one to the right and one to the left, reuniting in front of the caciques. In this way the dance went on for half an hour, the men passing once more before the caciques
[114] for the defile. It was also in Agachy that I witnessed this dance.

[114] The third dance, which I saw right there, was similar to the first, but the dancers carried in their hands bunches of flowers and branches of wild plants, with which they saluted when they passed in front of the caciques.

[114] This fourth dance was witnessed by me in the aldea of Santa Ana. In front of the two pairs of caciques and four musicians with their drums and flutes, 22 couples formed up, men and women in equal parts. The dancers carried in their hands a piece of tacuara /a kind of bamboo/ more than one and one-half meters long. In files, the men to the /93/ right and the women to the left, and taking double steps to the rhythm of the music, they alternately struck the tacuaras against one another. This provided a pleasant sight; they did it so well and with such cleverness they seemed to be true artists. This dance lasted an hour and a half, without respite, leaving the dancers, on finishing, completely exhausted.